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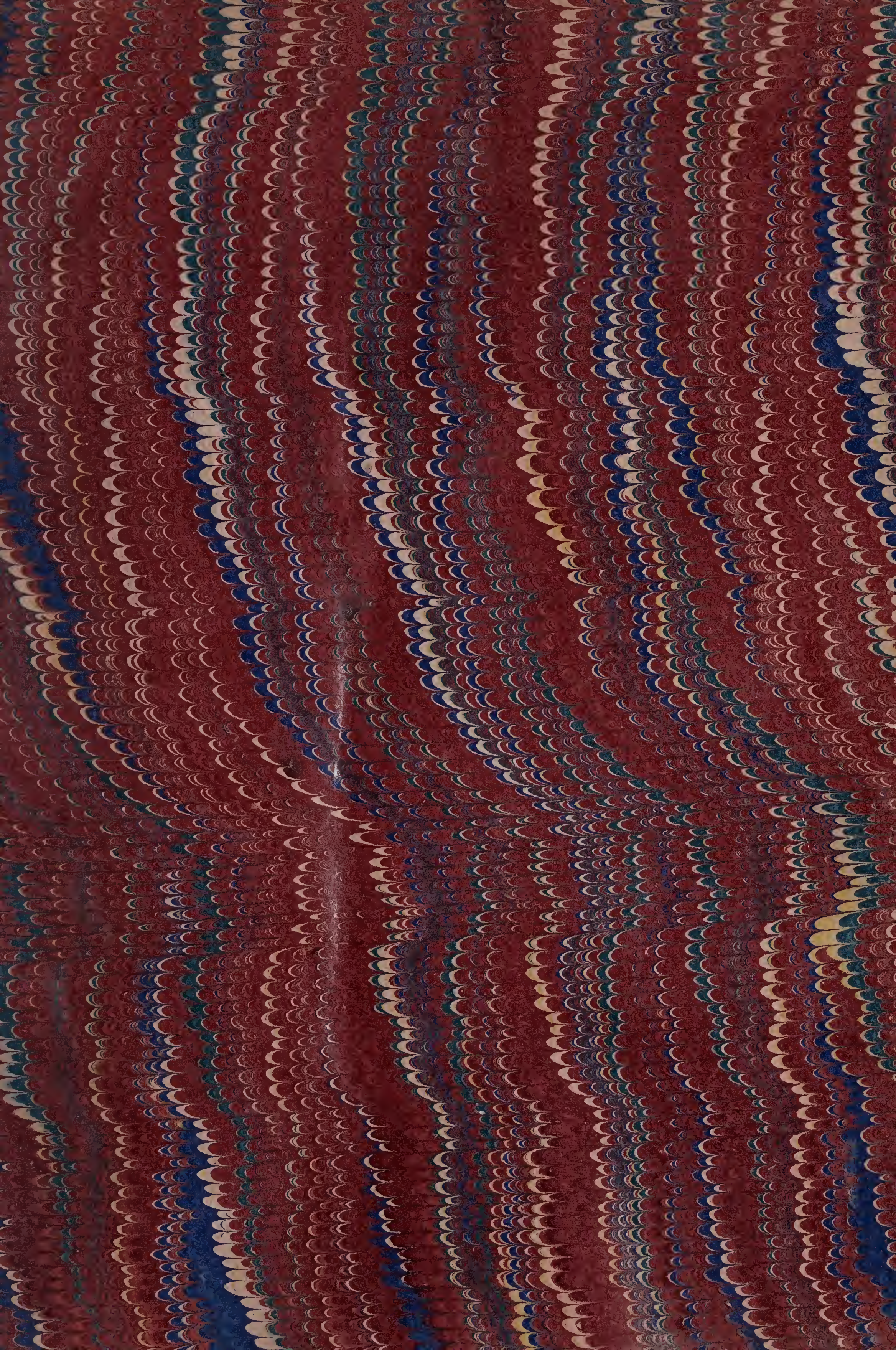
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# Hawaii and the Changing Front of the World

By Hon. J. R. PROCTER

*President of the U. S. Civil Service Commission*

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## HAWAII AND THE CHANGING FRONT OF THE WORLD.

NOTHING has been more noteworthy during the century now drawing to a close than the wonderful expansion of Great Britain, Russia, and the United States.

The British Empire has steadily expanded until it now comprises an area of 11,384,000 square miles, with a population aggregating 402,000,000, having a foreign and intercolonial trade amounting to \$6,385,000,000 yearly. Of the total shipping of the world, 61 per cent is carried under the British flag. No empire since the dawn of history has equalled the British Empire of to-day in area, in population, or in wealth.

The Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria was a glorious apotheosis of British unity and strength. The Premiers of eleven self-governing colonies rode in the Jubilee procession, accompanied by colonial and native troops from all parts of the world; every colony represented rejoicing in the words of Kipling, "Daughter am I in my mother's house, but mistress in my own."

At a banquet given to the colonial Premiers, the Duke of Devonshire contrasted the feeling entertained in England toward the Colonies to-day—Englishmen everywhere rejoicing in celebrating imperial unity—with that which obtained when the Manchester School flourished, and when colonial expansion and consolidation were regarded as a policy of doubtful principle. The Jubilee marks the beginning of a new era in Anglo-Saxon development; and Imperial Federation will hereafter be the goal of British endeavor.

The expansion and growth, in population and in wealth, of the United States during this century have been the wonder of the world. The thirteen sturdy, self-reliant English colonies came into conflict with the dependent colonies of France and Spain on this continent,—a contest between the town-meeting and bureaucracy, between individualism and paternalism; and individualism triumphed. A stupid British ministry tried to interfere in the local affairs of the colonies; but the latter asserted and maintained their independence, and put into operation the most perfect system of federation hitherto attempted.



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The propensity to acquire land, and the colonizing instincts which we inherited from our sea-roving ancestors, have lost none of their potency ; and we have gradually secured, by purchase and conquest, the vast territory extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. And our Aleutian Islands stretch across the Northern Pacific almost to the eastern coast-line of Asia. We have but recently proclaimed that our country is paramount on this hemisphere ; and we have had that claim acknowledged by the only great World-Power possessing ability to dispute it. In this connection, it may prove of interest to recall some of the events leading up to the acquisitions of territory, and the declaration of the Doctrine that America must remain free from foreign aggression.

But for the victory of Wolfe at Quebec, and the purchase of the Louisiana territory, France would have controlled the vast domain extending from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi, and indefinitely westward toward the Pacific. Spain claimed the vast territory extending from Vancouver to Cape Horn. It was the growing sea-power of England—Rodney's victory over the French fleet in 1782 ; the victory at Cape St. Vincent over the Spanish, and that of Camperdown over the Dutch in 1797 ; the victory of the Nile in 1798 ; the seizure of the Dutch fleet in 1799 ; and the annihilation of the Northern Maritime League at Copenhagen in 1801—that caused France to part with her Louisiana territory in 1803.

After Trafalgar (1805), France and Spain ceased to be naval Powers to be dreaded. Later, when Mexico and Central and South America had revolted against the despotic rule of Spain, and the crowned autocrats of Europe, alarmed at the spread of free institutions, had leagued together to stifle freedom and to aid Spain in recovering her American possessions, it was at the instance of England—we should not forget—that our celebrated Monroe Doctrine was promulgated. Mr. Canning suggested to our Minister to Great Britain that the two countries should stand together in preventing, “even by force if necessary,” any action of the Holy Alliance looking to the reëstablishment of Spanish rule in America. Mr. Jefferson urged President Monroe to accept the “proffered aid of England” ; and the celebrated Message containing the Doctrine was promulgated December 2, 1823. There was great rejoicing in England when the Message reached that country. Sir James Mackintosh said in Parliament:—

“The coincidence of these two great English commonwealths (for so I delight to call them, and I heartily pray that they may be forever united in the cause of justice and liberty) cannot be contemplated without the utmost pleasure by every enlightened citizen of the earth.”



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In 1826, Henry Clay, as Secretary of State, in instructing our delegates to the Panama Congress, wrote:—

“After these two great maritime Powers [Great Britain and the United States] had let Continental Europe know that they would not see with indifference any forcible interposition in behalf of Old Spain, it was evident that no such interposition would, or, with any prospect of success, could, be offered.”

But for Wolfe and Nelson, Pitt and Canning, how changed might have been the history of this continent, how changed might have been the history of the world! Whatever the debt we may owe England—and the debt is great—for the achievements of the great men just named, it has been amply paid by the lesson of our Revolution, and by the lessons of federation which our successful experiment is teaching.

Sir H. Maine points out that

“the Federal Court is the unique creation of the founders of the Constitution . . . the success of this experiment has blinded men to its novelty. There is no exact precedent for it either in the ancient or the modern world.”

Of this court, John Stuart Mill says:—

“the usual remedies between nations, war and diplomacy, being precluded by the Federal Union, it is necessary that a judicial remedy should supply its place. The Supreme Court of the Federation dispenses international law, and is the first great example of what is one of the most prominent wants of civilized society, a *real international tribunal*.”

The British colonies are fast learning the lessons of federation which we have taught. Within the past few years the Canadian provinces have federated; within the past few months several of the Australian governments have passed Acts looking to Australasian federation. A great British empire is growing up in South Africa. The Transvaal and Orange Free State are just as sure to form part of the South-African British Federation as New Netherlands was to become New York. There, in South Africa, is a region as large as Europe,—not including Russia,—suited to colonization by our race; and in that far-away land the statesmen, in discussing the problems to be solved, are quoting from the American Constitution and the writings of Jefferson, Madison, and Hamilton, and are demonstrating how applicable to their present conditions are the principles enunciated and put in practice by the founders of our government. There, too, are states with diverse interests, their English and Dutch communities, their local jealousies, their barbarous, warlike tribes on the frontiers, and vast areas of unoccupied land. They have Oöm-Paul, with his alien and sedition laws; and the fight



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between Chief Justice Kotze and President Krüger is much like the contest that Chief Justice Marshall had with President Jefferson and some of his successors, and which resulted in the victory of the Court over the Executive.

Will not the federation of the various colonies be followed by a larger or imperial British federation, with an Imperial Supreme Court to settle intercolonial differences, as the differences between our States are settled? Has not our Supreme Court shown statesmen the way to a higher Court of International Arbitration, and was not the treaty, signed at Washington during the present year, but a harbinger of the coming dawn?

The growth of political aggregations is facilitated, and their permanence insured, by the introduction of the representative or federal system of government, and by the increasing commercial and industrial interdependence of widely separated countries.

With the development of the marine engine, the sea unites rather than divides widely separated lands. Measured by freight costs, Honolulu is nearer to San Francisco than are many towns in the State of California; Auckland, Sydney, Vancouver, and Hong-Kong are nearer to London than is Omaha to New York; and the British possessions in India, South Africa, Australasia, Canada, and the innumerable isles of the seas form a more perfect commercial unit than do the various parts of the Russian Empire, with no intervening seas.

The English-speaking peoples now supreme on the ocean, possessing by far the largest area of habitable lands in the temperate zones,—lands containing the greatest stores of coal, iron, copper, gold, and silver,—have advanced more in material wealth during the century now closing than in all the previous centuries in the history of our race. With a proper application of the federal system, as devised by the founders of our government, our race has the means of unlimited expansion without imperilling national unity.

Russia has been striving for centuries to reach the open sea. The dream of Peter the Great has become crystallized into a national aspiration. Gibraltar, Malta, the Suez Canal, and the preponderating strength of the British navy make the Mediterranean an English lake, even should Russia pass the Bosphorus. The entrance to Russia's Baltic ports is blocked by ice for a great part of the year. Thwarted on the west and south, ice-bound on the north, this great, mysterious, seemingly irresistible Power extends her dominion steadily until she reaches the Sea of Japan on the east; acquiring, by bold and skilful diplomacy, the



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Amur country, equal in area to France. For the purpose of uniting her vast dominions, Russia is pushing to speedy completion her great Siberian railway from the Ural Mountains to her Asian seaport-fortress. The names around this Eastern fortress indicate Russian aspirations: Vladivostock, means "Ruler of the East"; the harbor is called the "Golden Horn"; the passage to the sea, the "Eastern Bosphorus"; and the bay, the "Gulf of Peter the Great." If not in Europe, yet in Asia, after centuries of patient striving, will Russian dreams of becoming a sea Power at last be realized.

But Vladivostock is blocked by ice during the winter. Russia must reach the open sea. By masterful diplomacy, after the close of the war between China and Japan, she makes a treaty with the former; acquiring, among other important concessions, the right to construct branches from her great military railway through Manchuria to harbors in China on the Yellow Sea. Unless checked, her dominion will follow the completion of these roads. Gradually she will extend along the lines of least resistance. She cannot become a sea Power until she becomes a manufacturing and commercial Power. China has, in her northern and eastern provinces, the only great coalfield not now in the possession of Great Britain and the United States. The population of Russia, by the census just completed, aggregates 129,211,113; and the yearly increase amounts to 1 per cent.

Russia has not reached the limit of her expansion. She has neither Parliament nor Congress to question the policy of her aggressive, autocratic government.

China has a population estimated at 400,000,000 of frugal, industrious, enduring people. With the possession of the great coalfield near the open sea, and deep harbors, if Russia can unite her forces and direct the tremendous, but hitherto dormant, energies of China, the world will have a new Power, possibly a new danger, to face.

More than six hundred years ago the great Mongol Empire threatened to absorb Western Europe. Now, the expanding empire of the Slav threatens to absorb the descendants of the Mongols, and to establish an empire more powerful than the all-conquering empire of Genghis Khan.

The presence of Russia in the Far East, and the possibility of a combination between Russia and China, followed by the awakening of China from her sleep of centuries; the extension of French dominion in Indo-China, Siam, and Madagascar; the partitioning of Africa and the islands of the Pacific among European Powers; the industrial



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growth of Japan, and her entrance into the family of nations as a great naval and military Power; the completion of the great military highways from Halifax to Vancouver, and from St. Petersburg to Vladivostok; the rapid peopling of British Columbia and our North-Pacific States, and of the Amur and Manchuria districts,—all tend to change the front of the world, and to transfer to the placid Pacific the national activities which, for three centuries past, have rendered the Atlantic the theatre of stirring events.

We must expect points of vantage in the Pacific to be occupied. There is a vast area of the Pacific Ocean with one, and only one, great land-locked harbor, easily defended,—Pearl Harbor in the Hawaiian Islands. These islands are situated at the intersection of the great commercial routes from Vancouver to Australasia, from the Isthmus of Panama to Japan, from San Francisco to Hong-Kong and Canton.

However Americans may differ in their views as to the policy of free trade or protection, as applicable to this country, all must agree in wishing that our own products should not be excluded from foreign markets by hostile tariffs. It is fast becoming absolutely essential to our well-being that such markets should take our increasing surplus. We possess the greatest aggregate of machinery of highest efficiency in the world; and we produce a larger output per operative than any other country. Because of our application of mechanical appliances, our farmers produce more per man than do the farmers of any other country. One farmer in this country can produce food for two hundred and fifty persons; while in Europe one man can feed but thirty.

Mulhall estimates that the United States possess almost as much energy, measured in foot-tons, as Great Britain, France, and Germany combined. Already our capacity for production, both in agricultural and manufactured products, far exceeds our capacity for consumption, so that we must seek foreign markets for the disposition of our increasing surplus. More than one-half the population of the world is in countries fronting the Pacific and Indian Oceans. The foreign commerce of the countries bordering these oceans—excluding North America—already amounts to over \$2,250,000,000 a year. Of this great commerce, we, as yet, have but a small fraction. Over 80 per cent of our total exports go eastward across the Atlantic, and less than 5 per cent, westward. This is because the great bulk of our total exports are the crude products of our farms, forests, and mines. They go to feed the producers of Europe, and to furnish raw material to Euro-



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pean manufacturers. We grow 80 per cent of the raw cotton in the world ; yet, with the cheapest power in the world, and the most efficient labor, we have only 15 per cent of the spindles of the world. China, Japan, Corea, and India are cotton-using countries ; and, with the changing conditions, here is a future market worth striving for. The deep rivers of China and India render the remote interiors of those countries, with their teeming millions, easily accessible from the sea. We have now five transcontinental railways reaching the Pacific ; and a ship canal connecting that ocean with the Atlantic is inevitable. Our trade with Eastern Asia will expand to enormous proportions. The ports of Japan were first opened by United States war-ships, under Commodore Perry ; and this was the beginning of the tremendous revolution and development in the Far East.

Thus far, British colonial expansion has meant to this country the opening of new markets for whatever we have had to sell. About 60 per cent of our total exports go to Great Britain and her colonies. The colonial expansion of France and Russia aims always at close markets for their own commerce,—a continuation of the Roman system of acquiring and governing countries for the exclusive benefit of the central power. With the occupation of Madagascar by France last year, commercial treaties were abrogated, by the placing of increased duties upon imports other than French.

The time is approaching when the cotton-growers of the South, the wheat-growers of the West, the meat-producers on our plains, and manufacturers and wage-earners all over our land will realize that exclusion from Asian markets will be disastrous to their best interests. The expansion of Russia in Asia and a combination between Russia and China will extend the Russian system of exclusion.

President Monroe's celebrated Message of December 2, 1823, contained also a warning against Russian colonization in North America ; and, in view of the march of events, the application of the Monroe Doctrine to the North Pacific is of more importance to-day than it was in 1823.

As a country where the principles of protection are carried to an extreme, we have no right to object to any other self-governing country levying whatever duties it may desire, provided it does not discriminate against us in the interest of other nations. But we shall have the same right that we had in 1823, in connection with England, to object to any Power forcing its system, to our exclusion and detriment, on countries with which we have commercial treaties. Should not the



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United States and Great Britain, having like interests at stake as in 1823, stand together to guard from danger Anglo-Saxon liberty, law, and interests? I believe events are so shaping that these two great World-Powers, and probably Japan, will be drawn into an alliance which will insure the well-being and progress of the world.

War-ships flying the American flag first opened the ports of the Far East. War-ships flying the Stars and Stripes, the Union Jack, and the flag of Japan may be forced to unite to prevent the closing of these ports.

The Hawaiian Islands—the most important strategic position in the Pacific—are to-day like a derelict flying a flag of distress in mid-ocean.

With a government representing a minority insignificant in numbers, liable to overthrow at any time from internal causes, or from dangerous complications growing out of the preponderance of aliens, the situation, in respect of these islands, in view of the tremendous and far-reaching interests that are involved, is such as to demand the immediate action of our government.

We cannot with honor recede from the protectorate which we have maintained for more than fifty years; and a continuation of existing conditions may at any time involve this country in troubles which could not arise, were the Islands to become a part of our possessions. Our interests, as well as our national honor, now demand the annexation of the Hawaiian group.

We have a coast-line of nearly 2,000 miles on the Pacific; and our Alaskan coast-line is greater in extent than our Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific coast-lines combined. In the future we shall have a large seaborne commerce on the Pacific to protect.

Modern ships of war and commerce require facilities for coaling, and for frequent docking for repairs. A neutral port cannot be used as a base of supplies in time of war. This was emphasized in the Franco-Tonquin war, when England refused to allow French ships to coal at Singapore, and France was forced to send coal transports from Marseilles through the Suez Canal to Saigon. Mahan has well likened a modern war-ship without coal to a wingless bird.

The great distance across the Pacific will render it difficult for a war-ship to cross from Asia and return without recoaling.

In the possession of a hostile power, Hawaii would give an additional base for coaling and repair from which to attack our extended coast-line. With Hawaii in our possession, and Pearl Harbor fortified and



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stored with coal,—furnishing a safe harbor for our merchantmen,—we need fear no attack from across the Pacific. We should require fewer war-ships in the Pacific, and fewer fortifications on our Western and Alaskan coasts, than would be required if Hawaii should remain in its present condition or pass to the possession of a foreign Power.

A fortified harbor of refuge and coal-supply will save to our commerce in time of war, in the item of marine insurance alone, many times the cost of maintaining it. England, realizing the importance of such harbors of refuge and bases of supply, has established fortified coaling-stations all around the world in the pathways of commerce.

A cruiser or battle-ship with a coal capacity necessary to carry her 5,000 miles, steaming at ten knots an hour, will exhaust her coal in less than 1,000 miles, by doubling her speed. With a supply of coal well guarded in Pearl Harbor, our war-ships and merchantmen can cross the Pacific at maximum speed, or concentrate at distant points at high speed, thus largely increasing their efficiency; while their adversaries, being under the necessity of conserving coal, or of risking the running out of coal away from their own ports, must move at much less speed, thus being placed at great disadvantage.

This important group of islands can now become a part of our possessions, not for the asking, but as a free gift from their now acknowledged government.

The methods of the revolution which deposed the Queen and brought the present government into being are no longer material to the consideration of this question. That is a closed chapter: we are dealing with existing conditions.

Having annexed possessions of France, Spain, Mexico, and Russia,—with their alien peoples, customs, and laws,—and, with ease, incorporated them into our system, we care little whether there are a few thousand more or less Orientals now in Hawaii. If this be an evil, with annexation, it will prove a diminishing one: without annexation, it may become incurable.

It may be argued that our system of government is not suited to such expansion. England has learned that the federal system is the only system yet devised by man that admits of unlimited expansion while securing imperial unity. Our race has demonstrated during this century the great superiority in national vitality of a freely governed country over one governed by a centralized despotism. The great colonial empires of Rome and Spain fell apart because the principles of local self-government and representative government were ignored.



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The founders of our government understood that it was devised to facilitate annexation of territory ; and our past history has settled that question. At the time of the Louisiana purchase, Jefferson wrote to Gallatin : " There is no constitutional difficulty as to the acquisition of territory ; and whether, when acquired, it may be taken into the Union by the Constitution as it now stands, will become a question of expediency." Gouverneur Morris said at this time, that he had known since the day when the Constitution was adopted that all North America must at length be annexed.

Texas was brought in not by treaty ratified by the Senate, but by an Act of annexation passed by both branches of Congress.

Alaska was bought of Russia in 1867 by treaty ; thus abandoning deliberately the theory of contiguity of territory, as determining the right of annexation,—and this by an almost unanimous vote of the Senate, only two votes being cast against the ratification of the treaty.

An English officer took possession of Hawaii in the name of the Queen in 1843 ; but his action was promptly disavowed by his government. Our Secretary of State, Mr. Legaré, wrote to our Minister in England, that these islands bore such peculiar relations to this country that we might feel justified in interfering by force to prevent their conquest by any Powers of Europe.

In 1853 our Secretary of State, Mr. Marcy, wrote thus of these islands to our Minister in France :—" It seems to be inevitable that they must come under the control of this Government."

In 1873 this country entered into a treaty of reciprocity, which is yet in force.

In 1888 the British Minister, in a communication to our Secretary of State, Mr. Bayard, informed him that as England and France had, by the Convention of 1843, bound themselves to consider the Hawaiian Islands an independent state, and never to take possession, either directly or under the title of a protectorate or any other form, of any part of their territory, it was proposed that the United States should enter into a similar agreement with England and Germany by which should be guaranteed the neutrality and equal accessibility of the Islands and their harbors to the ships of all nations without preference. To this, Mr. Bayard replied :—

" The existing treaties of the United States and Hawaii create, as you are aware, special and important reciprocities to which the present material prosperity of Hawaii may be said to owe its existence ; and by one of its articles, the cession of any part of the Hawaiian territory to any other government without the



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consent of the United States is inhibited. In view of such existing arrangements it does not seem needful for the United States to join with other governments to secure the neutrality of Hawaiian territory nor to provide for the equal accessibility of all nations to those ports which now exist."

Mr. Bayard, commenting on the above correspondence in an authorized interview, January 31, 1893, said:—

"I held there could be no comparison between our rights in the Hawaiian Islands, as secured by the treaties of 1875 and 1887, with those of other nations; and I would not consent that the United States should be put upon an equality with them. We had the right of veto upon any transfer of Hawaiian territory, and consequently upon any diversion of the revenues accruing from it. We had an interest in Hawaii that no other country could have. *A political union would logically and naturally follow, in course of time, the commercial union and dependence which were thus assured. . . . It was simply a matter of waiting until the apple should fall.*"

Admission as a State need not necessarily follow annexation. As Jefferson wrote in 1803, "that will become a question of expediency." The Administration of Jefferson forced on the Louisiana and Orleans Territories a strong government until they had learned the conditions of American citizenship. The government of the District of Columbia, with a population greater than that of Hawaii, is an example of how those islands may be governed. I doubt if any people are better satisfied with their government than are the citizens of the District of Columbia.

Let us hope that the rivalry between the three great World-Powers—the United States, Great Britain, and Russia—will always be a peaceful striving for the highest development, prosperity, and happiness of their respective peoples. In this contest for supremacy, our great rival, England, had the advantage of advancing beyond ourselves in the science of administration while this country was engaging its energies in the subduing of a continent, in settling the problems of slavery, in the Civil War, and in reconstruction.

In a recent speech, Lord Dufferin said that England could not have reached and maintained her present imperial position, but for the reform of the Imperial and Colonial Civil Service.

It has been well said that the gift of the Victorian reign most worthy of celebration at the Jubilee is the gift of good government; the selecting of the best men for the work to be done; the enactment of laws bearing equally upon the rich and the poor; the reforming of the Civil Service,—thus, upon ascertained fitness, opening a career to rich and poor alike.



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Every acquisition of territory since the formation of our government has been opposed by men who seem to have had little appreciation of the manifest destiny of our race: others shrink with fear, lest we have not the ability to administer properly the government of countries seeking admission into our system.

We need not fear that we shall be unable to meet the requirements of increased responsibilities, and hold our own in this coming contest for industrial and commercial supremacy. The growing greatness of our country will divorce our Civil Service, in the cities, in the States, and the nation, from the blasting influence of bossism and party spoils, and place it upon a broad, business basis of ascertained merit: thus our best trained, our fittest, our wisest men shall be put in places of public trust. Then, and not till then, can we dismiss "the craven fear of being great."

JOHN R. PROCTER.



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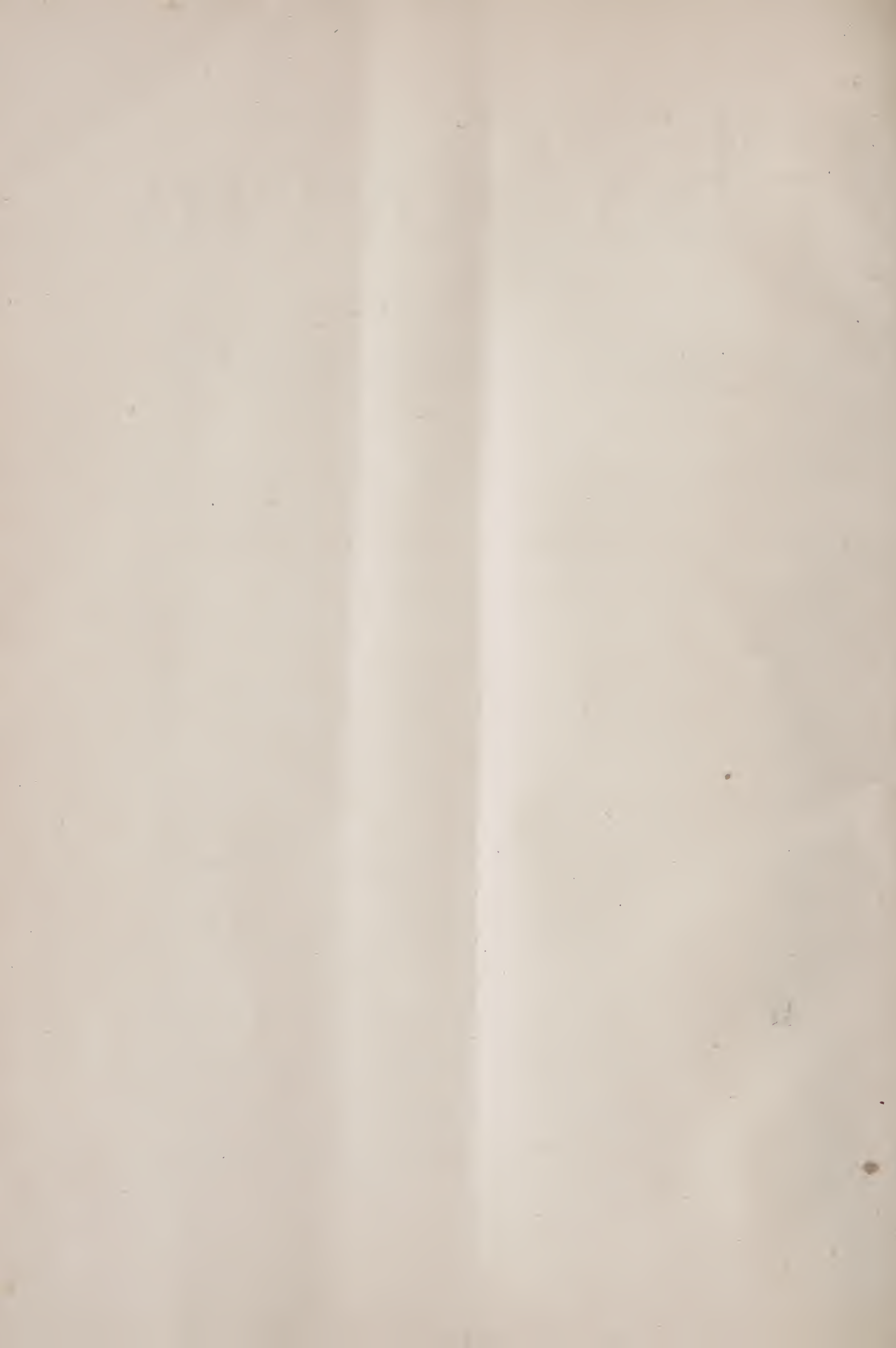
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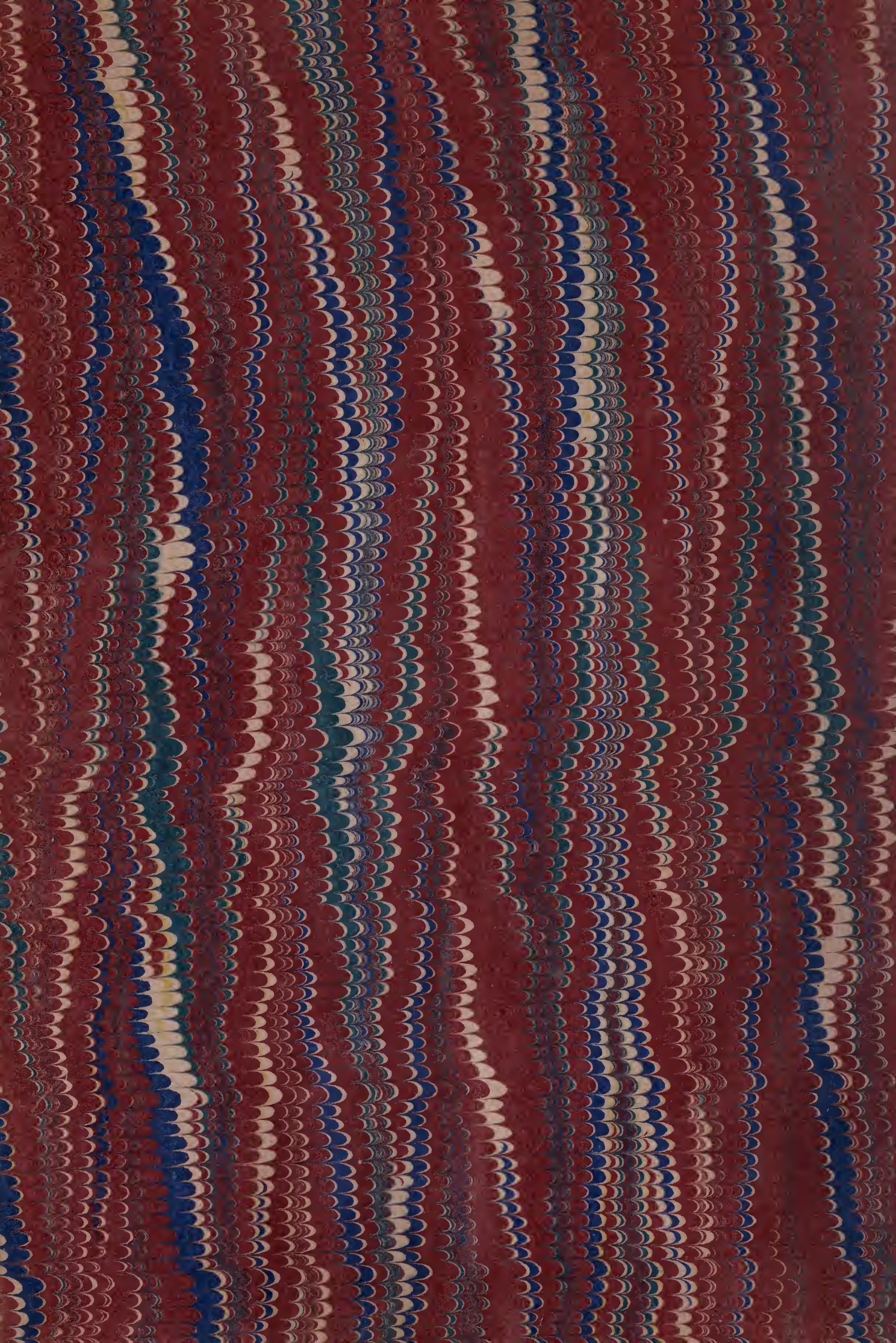




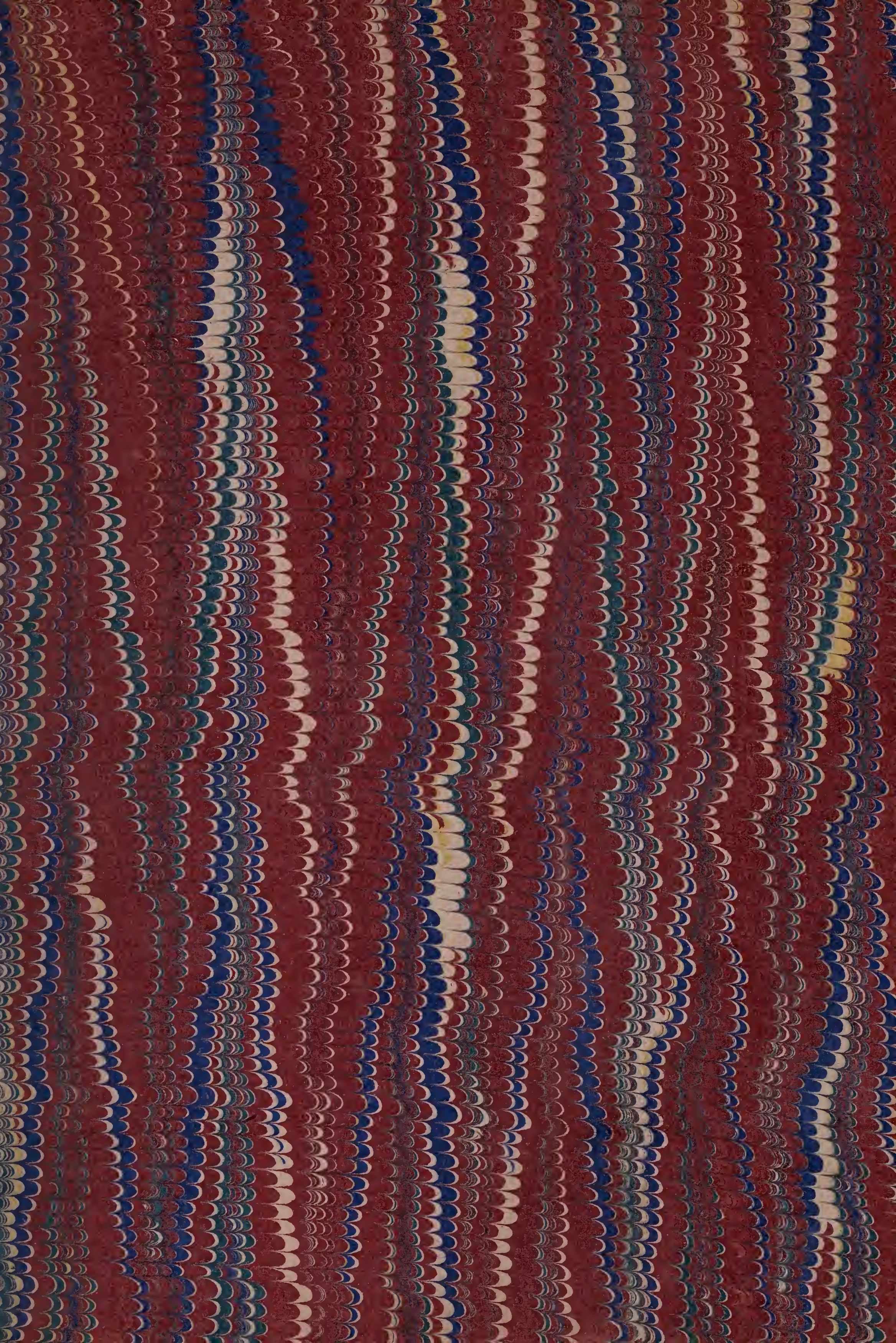














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